342 nearby site when the family changes its place of residence.

If the huts are very much inferior in their outward appearance and in the care with which they are built to those of Ruanda, this is even more true of their interiors. Here, as in Ruanda, the interior supporting poles are used to fasten several woven screens, higher than a man and made of papyrus, [285] reed stalks, or bamboo laths. These divide the hut into two or more separate living, sleeping, and store rooms. Many of these woven screens have the shape of a bent shield, as in Ruanda. In Urundi, however, very few of them are plaited as delicately and figured as beautifully as the shield-shaped wall screens and mats which in Ruanda cover the walls all around [22] and separate the various rooms from each other, admirably decorating not only the huts of the Batussi but often also those of prosperous Bahutu. Usually only two rooms are separated from each other by mats in this way: the front room (umurjango), which serves as a living room, kitchen, and dining room during the day, and the rear room (akagiro) which serves as a bedroom. In the latter, the parents' bed space 513 352 is also separated from the sleeping place of the children by mat screens. Here most of the Barundi sleep simply on a bundle of straw which they cover with a cowhide or goatskin. However, where a bedstead does exist, it consists of four short posts rammed into the ground and a wooden frame fastened on them which is filled with laths and covered with a mat. In Urundi, as well as in Ruanda, Mpororó, Ankole, etc., such bedsteads are owned only by the distinguished and the rich.

352 Wooden stools to sit on, like the ones used elsewhere in East Africa, are nonexistent in Urundi and Ruanda, or they exist only as a foreign import from Unjamwesi, Usámbiro, etc.

Even in the dwelling of the powerful chief Lusabiko in East Urundi there was "not a single stool or log to sit on. Only a few thick bundles of straw were lying in a corner; they could be drawn toward one if he did not wish to squat on the ground. If one desires to sleep, the bundle is unfastened, and [513] a soft bed is made. In the homes of rich persons a hairy ox hide is placed over it before sitting or lying down." (No. 14, 1901, p. 214.)

323 of the Wawira who live on the west shore of Lake Tanganyika
415 in the Congo State, and they have this shape only if specially
439 ordered. The simple Barundi vessels are very cheap: in
[435] Usumbura a large cooking pot is sold for one heller; in the interior two pots cost one kete of pearls.

The Barundi are hardly less adept at basketry (kudsjischa)
285 than the Banjaruanda, but as far as patterns and decoration are concerned, they are far inferior to the latter. Basketry may be divided into three types: the binding technique, the weaving technique, and the coiling technique (No. 32a, p. 42). The binding technique is the simplest of the three. Reed stalks, papyrus strips, tufts of grass, or rushes are arranged side by side and then are bound together with a few transverse bast strings. Mats, open baskets, and sieves are manufactured in this manner, but this work is so loosely woven as to be useful only for a limited number of purposes. In any case, there are very few
[352] mats in the interior of Urundi; even the chiefs usually sit on the bare ground or on a hide. In some areas, however, such
[513] mats, woven with long stalks of grass, are used; people wrap them around their naked bodies when going to sleep (No. 19, p. 390). In the Tanganyika district there are many more mats. It seems that they were introduced from the Congo and from the north (Ruanda). It is remarkable that in Urundi only men
[462] weave mats, which is the case even for the Batwa, whereas in Ruanda only women make the delicately woven ground mats, bed screens, bed mats, wall screens, etc., which often have beautiful patterns.

285 The weaving technique is much more widespread. It is
415 used in manufacturing baskets, plates, bags, sacks, and other things (Plate 51). Usually two layers of thin strips of bast are interlaced with each other at right angle, like a mesh. Depending on the material, this texture is firm and elastic or soft and flexible, but in all cases it is closely woven. The instruments used for this technique are a thin wooden stick which loosens the mesh to facilitate the passage of the material and an iron needle without an eye but with a little projection for winding the bast string so as to pull it through. In this way they produce large and small, round and square, tall and flat, open and

285 415 lidded baskets, long narrow containers for tubes to suck beer, very large baskets with lids which are used as traveling trunks, meal winnowers, plates, grain sacks, sometimes even quivers for arrows, and other things. Very occasionally [80] simple [531] linear patterns are produced by interlacing strips of bast dyed black. In Urundi this weaving technique is exclusively prac- [462] ticed by women; only the large flat meal winnowers are manufactured by men (No. 19, p. 577), presumably because they [237] are calked with cow dung, a product of cattle which women can [184] have nothing to do with as a matter of principle.

285 The coiling technique is used for making basketry with long, thin, straw or bast rolls, with thread wrapped round them (similar to the beehives of our peasants). These rolls are laid in spiral fashion on top of each other and are tightly fitted by the bast string tied around them; for this reason this is also referred to as the spiral-technique (Plate 50). It is used for producing baskets and bowls with walls which are thicker and more resistant to shock and pressure than those manufactured by the weaving technique. The spiral technique is also employed in making [415] waterproof cups, the long pointed lids of the gourd bottles used [482] for beer, and the often very pretty wreath-shaped rings used for keeping vessels in an upright position and for carrying burdens [462] on the head. This technique is also only practiced by women.

285 171 Stuhlmann assumes that it is of Hamitic origin (No. 32a, p. 44). This would account for its general geographic distribution and for the high stage of development to which it has been brought in the Batussi states. F. von Luschan also points out that this technique is characteristic of Hamitic tribes or tribes under Hamitic influence, ranging from the Somali to the Ovambo [Ambo] (No. 40, p. 252).

286 352 Finally we wish to mention the carrying nets which are made of intertwined bast strings simply tied together crosswise. They are hung inside the huts to hold calabashes and other objects (Plate 51). The Barundi could not do without these nets, for even inside the huts plaited work cannot be left standing on the floor since it would be eaten by the termites.

286 177 The Lake Barundi of the Tanganyika district plait fishing nets with either a wide or narrow mesh in a similar fashion, but

296 this seems to be an art which they learned from the Congolese
[171] Wawira and Wabemba [Bembe] (No. 19, p. 577).

The Barundi are not familiar with the technique of weaving
[287] material for garments. They wear garments made of barkcloth
[291] and hides, and only in recent times have they started to use
[177] European cotton fabrics.

Wood carving (uwuwasi) obviously ranks second to pottery,
322 weaving, and metalworking in a country with as few trees as Urundi. Most carving is done in the western mountain regions where there are still remnants of primeval forest with tall trees.
[138] From there these objects are exported to the almost treeless areas of the interior. The Batwa in particular are good wood
[462] carvers. As among the Bahutu and Batussi, only men engage in wood carving. Everyone makes his own ordinary wooden household objects, such as poles, sticks, pestles for pounding grain, hoe handles, knife handles, and similar objects, since they do not require any particular technical skill. Other woodworking that requires technical knowledge and experience, such as spear shafts, bows, arrows, quivers, wrist discs, milk pails, bellows, shields, and grain mortars, is done by specialists who exchange or sell their products (Plate 52). Moreover, a characteristic feature of the wood carving of the Barundi and Banjaruanda and one which Stuhlmann calls attention to for all African wood carving (No. 32a, p. 28) is that objects are always made from a single piece of wood. Products made of several pieces of wood are extremely rare; both in Urundi and in Ruanda the only ones are knife and dagger sheaths consisting of two flat boards tied
322 together. A combination of wood carving and plaiting tech-
411 niques is found in one type of shield (ingabo) whose oblong wooden
285 plate is covered [81] with plaited work consisting of strips of fig bark and rattan, leaving only the boss in the center of the shield uncovered (Plate 53). This type of shield is extremely rare in Urundi. In Ruanda there are more of these shields covered with plaited work -- ascribed by Stuhlmann to the kulturkreis of the Bahima (No. 32a, p. 30) -- but, nevertheless, they occur only sporadically. They are numerous only near the Uganda border.

Plate 25

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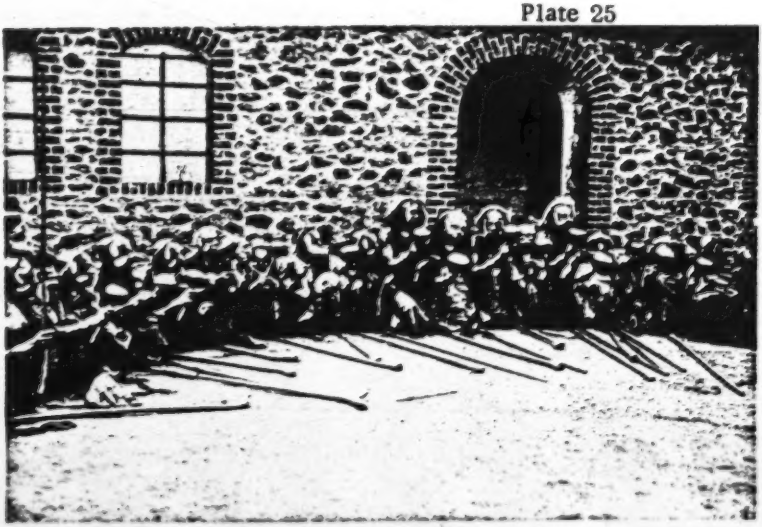

"Cattle Doctors" of King Mutaga During the Exorcizing Ceremony.
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

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Murundi Woman with Woven Beehives
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

Plate 33

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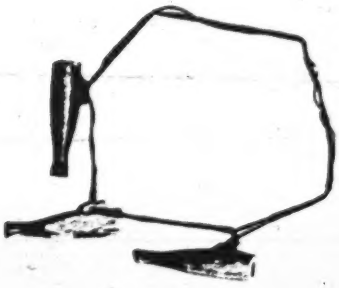

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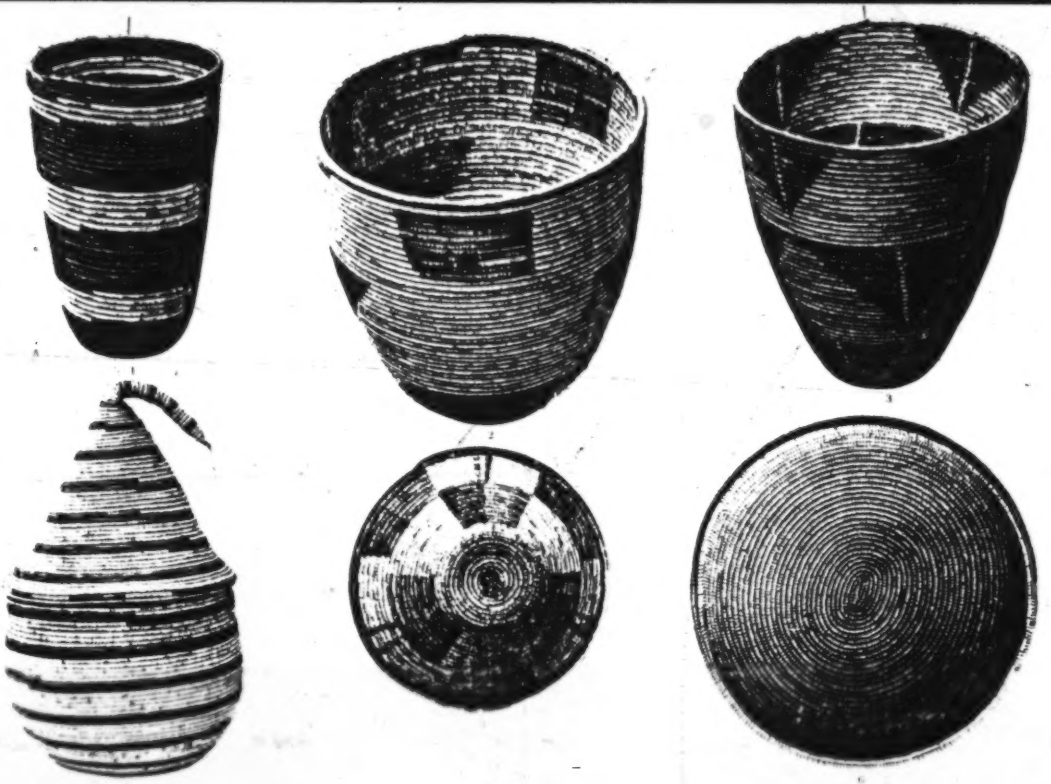
No. 1) Neck ornament of bone pipes, 3 1/2 centimeters long. No. 2) Neck ornament of polished shells and red beads, 5 centimeters long. No. 3) Neck ornament of the tooth of a hippopotamus, 14 centimeters long. No. 4) Neck ornament of hippopotamus tooth, 20 centimeters long. No. 5) Bottle stand plaited of straw, 14 centimeters wide. (All at Ethnological Museum, Berlin.)

2: Meyer--284 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 50



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Baskets and Plates for Grain, Flour, etc., Woven of Straw; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) 20 centimeters high; No. 2) 23 centimeters high; No. 3) 21 centimeters high; No. 4) 60 centimeters high; No. 5) 19 centimeters in diameter; No. 6) 28 centimeters in diameter.

2: Meyer--287 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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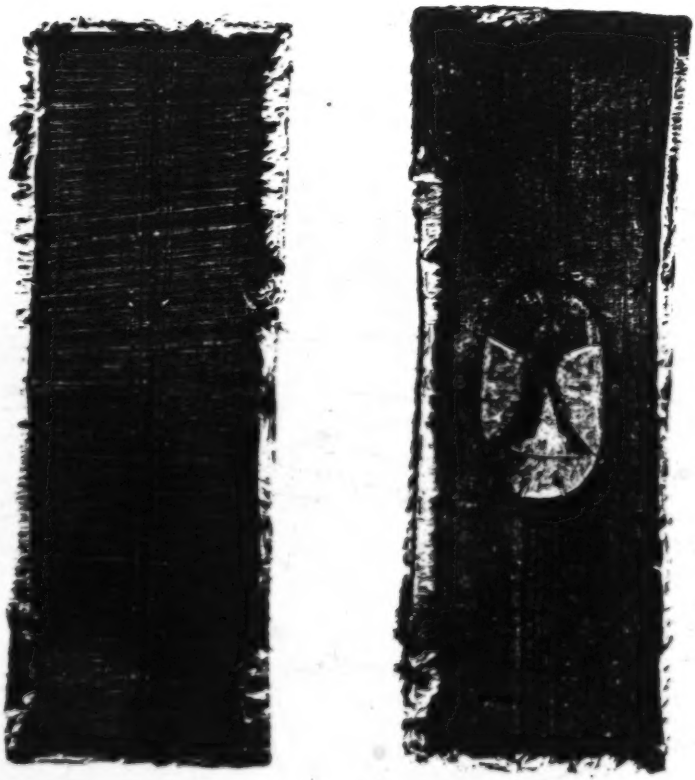

Shield Plaited of Reed.
No. 1) Front; No. 2) Back with wooden handle, 122 centimeters long; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

2: Meyer--288 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 54

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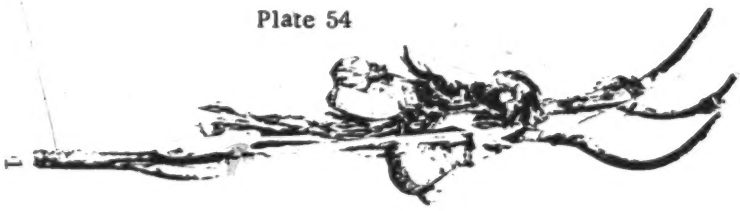

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[285]

Headdresses and Amulets; Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

No. 1) Bifurcated stick with medicine amulets in plaited satchels, 82 centimeters long; Nos. 2, 3) Plaited dancing caps with goat hair and cowrie shells, 68 and 80 centimeters long.

316 The industries of Ruanda are very primitive. The country is poor in iron ore, which is hardly to be found except in the Buberuka and Kanage. The Banyarwanda extract it mostly from the Bunyabungu, southwest of Lake Kivu.

[326] They make hoes, spears, billhooks, and rudimentary knives out of it. /55/

• 265 Basketry is more highly developed, but except for a few small articles made rather artfully by Batutsi women in their leisure time, this industry is not especially remarkable. Workmen and artisans seek to make only what is practical. The making of pottery, as we 323 said before, is almost exclusively the prerogative of the Batwa or the Bayovu, a Muhutu /Bahutu/ clan despised almost as much as the Batwa ethnic group.

462 Women have set tasks as well as men. While they take care of the children, prepare meals, keep the hut orderly and clean, the husband milks the cows and repairs the huts. Furthermore, they are often seen working together in the fields or gathering cereals (1).

1. Grammaire Kirundi /Kirundi Grammar/ by Rev. Fr. Ménard of the White Fathers. Maison-Carrée (Algiers).

What the author says of the Barundi in his preface applies almost in toto to the Banyarwanda. The two lands and the two nations are very much alike. Except for a few small differences, the language is the same.

771 From a religious point of view, the Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ 776 is extremely superstitious. He acknowledges the existence of a supreme being (Imana), creator of all things, but is not much preoccupied with him in his everyday life because that being does no harm.

769 He cares for the ancestral spirits, whom he fears. He believes, 775 indeed, that the spirits of the dead are the authors of the evils that befall him.

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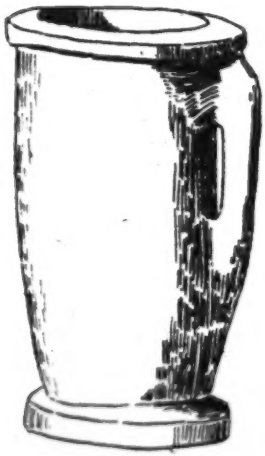

Fig. 27. Mortar from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13095. 44 centimeters high.)

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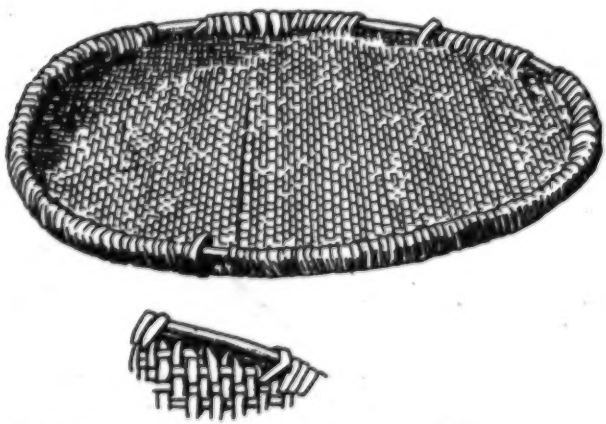

Fig. 28. Woven Shield for Winnowing Millet, from Mulera. (1/6 actual size, III E 13678. 75 x 61 centimeters.)

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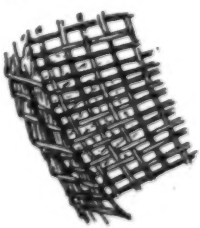
Fig. 37. Beehive from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13680. 80 centimeters long.)

Fig. 38. Honey Knife from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13738. 28 centimeters long.)



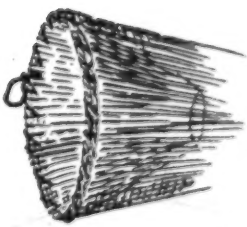


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Fig. 39. Fish Traps from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13743. 65 centimeters long.)

273 Aged banana beer is more potent than millet beer.

In Ruanda and Bgisha beer is drunk through a tube (muheha). These tubes are kept in cases resembling quivers, but they are considerably smaller.

276 Preparation of Tobacco. In connection with beer we must mention the other luxury, tobacco, even though the latter undergoes no treatment except drying. Dried tobacco is an important product of Bugoye where highly prized kinds of tobacco flourish and where it is very carefully tended.

[151] Tobacco is smoked in clay pipes (inkono yi tabi), but it is said that in Nduga old women also partake of it in a liquid state. An infusion is prepared, and this is snuffed up the nose. To prevent its running out, they clamp a split twig on the nose and in this way plug it.

This method of enjoying tobacco is also said to be familiar to the people southwest of Lake Victoria, where it is called kirangi. Since they are obliged to hold their noses very high in order to keep the liquid from running out, Europeans who carry themselves very erect are given the nickname Kirangi.

Hashish is unknown in Ruanda, as well as in the rest of the interlacustrine area with the exception of Buganda. The hashish smokers of Bukoba were chiefly members of the local Baganda colony.

● 285 Plaiting. In Ruanda the technique of plaiting by no means attains the level of the work in Kiziba, although it does not differ from the latter in principle. The Ruanda products, however, are less skillfully executed.

Since this subject has been discussed in detail (1) I shall

1. Kandt, R., "Gewerbe in Ruanda," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1904, pp. 349-359.

speak only briefly of the types of weaving.

In mat weaving which poses the simplest problems (pattern and weave are executed on a flat surface), the results are superb,

285 and mats are among the most richly decorated objects.

There are four different types.

The stiff shield mats, which are stuffed between the supporting beams of the roof and used for interior partitions, are of two types. The first type consists of interwoven bamboo strips that cross at right angles. Variations arise, depending on whether the horizontal strips are separated from successive or alternate vertical strips. In the other type, a second layer is tied to the vertical strips. The strips of this layer can intersect the vertical strips at various angles, which diversifies the ornamentation.

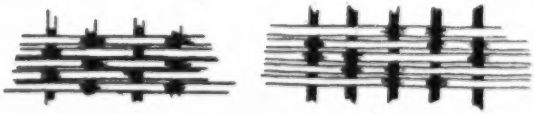

Fig. 42. Weaving Pattern of Shield Mats, Ruanda.

The stick mats consist of stiff sticks laid parallel to each other and fastened together. In Toro the mat used to serve cooked eleusine is held together by four narrow rows of fastening, while the stick mat of Ruanda has very narrow rows of fastening only along the edges. The [152] inner part between the fastenings usually has a pattern of plaited fibers, except for a narrow border which is left plain on both sides. These mats are used as curtains, which may be rolled up, in front of the bed. The ordinary reed mats are made like the mats just described, except that bunches of reed and papyrus are used instead of stiff sticks. The bundles are held together with longitudinal fastenings. In some places the bundles of reed are bound with black banana leaf sheaths, producing simple ornamentation.

The same types of plaiting are used for baskets. The weaving pattern of Type I (see Fig. 42) is used for larger baskets employed in the household for storing and carrying food supplies, for the shields on which millet is winnowed and on which flour is caught as it falls from the millstone, for beehives, for the

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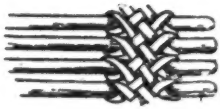

Fig. 43. -Weaving Pattern of Stick Mats, Ruanda.

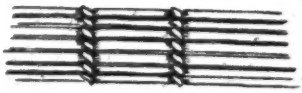

Fig. 44. Weaving Pattern of Reed Mats, Ruanda.

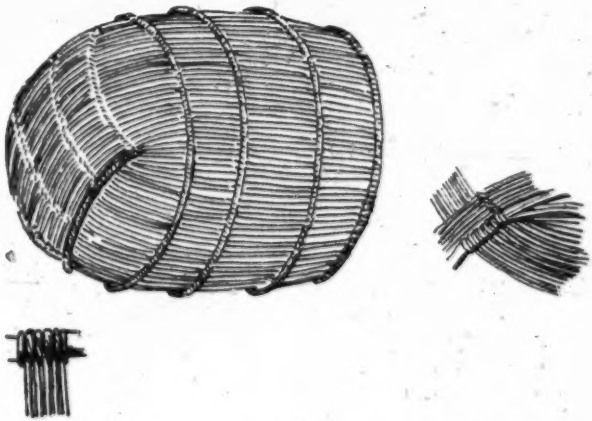

Fig. 45. Basket of Woven Sticks, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 13683. Height: 33 centimeters.)

[H3]

Fig. 46. Needle Used in Basketry. (1/3 actual size, 18 1/2 centimeters long.)

285 wrapper around beer jugs, for some of the woven quivers, and for mats to place under dishes. I remember having seen the pattern of Type II, in which the vertical strips are held together on the outside by a spiral, only on quivers (see Fig. 153).

Baskets used for traveling, in which toilet articles and small items are kept, are made of two stick mats [153] placed together vertically, bent to form a cylinder, and fastened together with several (usually four) horizontally attached hoops (see Fig. 45).

The sewn baskets are made from slender bundles of fine straw which are coiled and bound with bast. The bast binding is drawn through the previously bound coil of straw and sewn in this manner. The attachment of one coil to another makes the basket. The hole for the thread drawn through the coils is made with an iron needle (mhindu) which is also used to remove sand fleas. The needle has a flat head which is used to smooth out the bound bundle and make it more pliable. The patterns on the baskets are made with black banana leaf sheaths tied around certain parts of the coils.

The finest plaiting of this type is found in Ruanda on the covers of milk containers. Nevertheless, they cannot be compared with those of Kiziba and Kyanja. The small storage baskets (çhibo) represent somewhat coarser work.

As may be seen from the above description, household equipment is mostly plaited objects, and their production takes up a large share of the women's time in every household. The best work is done by the Batutsi women who regard it as our women do their needlework.

323 Pottery. Objects of pottery stand second in the inventory of household furnishings. Pottery is produced by professional artisans who work exclusively for the market. In Ruanda most of the potters are Batwa men, but there are also Bahutu men and women who work as potters. In Kissaka I saw only women working at the trade.

Pots are not made on a wheel. However, traces of this tool are evident in the sherds which are used to shape the pot.

The clay which has been mixed with water is dampened slightly by the worker. She takes a lump of this and by hand shapes a cylindrical roll, 30 centimeters long and two to three centimeters thick. This roll is wound spirally like the straw coils used in

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In the north high, cone-shaped bamboo baskets are used to carry food and charcoal. They are carried on the head on a cushion. Small packages are also often made of banana leaves. These packages are generally wedged between three branches, bamboo stalks, or small bunches of millet straw. In this way they can be held with one hand. Packages are more often used in the south. There, small items and toilet articles are packed for traveling in wide, low baskets made of small sticks, with cone-shaped lids. These are simply placed on the head.

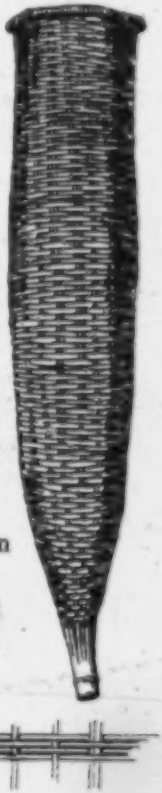

Fig. 54. Pack Basket for Carrying and Storing Food. (1/12 actual size. III E 13688. 140 centimeters high.)

Beer and water are carried in earthen pots with plaited wrappers and covered with banana leaves.

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In a discussion of the means of communication in Ruanda we must not forget to mention the native telegraph. Drum signals are used to a moderate extent. The king summons his warriors with drums when there is impending danger, but general information is shouted from hill to hill in a particular way, so that Nyanza is always well informed about what goes on in the country. There is news [168] of every European traveler of every cattle theft at the border, and of every sign of unrest throughout the country. The news travels quickly from hill to hill until it reaches the capital. The news service is so good that one could assume there are special persons who are obliged to carry out their duties of signaling promptly.

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Arteries of Communication. In conclusion we shall list briefly the chief traffic and trade routes of Ruanda.

1. The path from Bukoba, via Kafuro, Kissaka, and Bugessera, to Nduga is the route along which hides are transported from Ruanda

487 to the Uganda railway. It seems that most of the cotton cloth and
438 beads that one sees in Ruanda are also brought this way. Trade along this route is carried on chiefly by Indians from Kafuro, assisted by

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Fig. 55. Traveling Basket from Ruanda. (1/8 actual size. III E 6986. 84 centimeters high.)

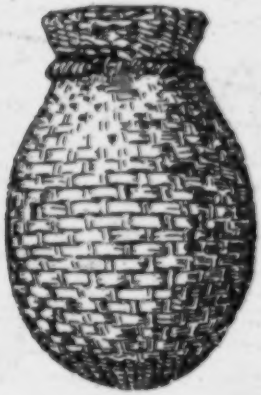

Fig. 56. Pot with Woven Wrapper, Mulera. (1/8 actual size. III 13746. 50 centimeters high.)

people of Kahigi. I reached this route on my trip from Nyanza by Lake Mohasi to Nsasa in Njakagungu, a day's journey south of the lake. On the way I met a trading caravan that exchanged cattle for its ten loads of cheap cotton material. This new traffic artery was formed to make a connection with the Uganda Railway.

2. The above route has cut off the old way from Tabora, via Ussuwi and Kissaka, to Nduga and robbed it of its former importance.
[567] It is said that now this route has a branch along which the Bassuwi trade in women flourishes. It was along this route that Count Von Götzen entered the country, the first European to do so.

[169] 3. The route from Nduga via Mukinjaga to Bunyabungu is the export route for sheep and goats which are exchanged for iron. Along this route are traded the Mukinjaga mats, well-known throughout Ruanda.

The shoe of the spear is very seldom lacking. Its form is that of a sharply-pointed cone into which is wedged the end of the spear shaft.

We mentioned above that the spear is a part of a man's adornment. Nevertheless, it is still a very dangerous weapon, and they know how to use it up to a distance of 20 meters. At this distance I saw a banana stalk, 15 centimeters in diameter and as tall as a man, hit two out of every three times. The force of the blow was so great that the spears pierced the stalk and protruded 20 centimeters on the other side. The spears that had missed the target penetrated 10 centimeters into the solidly trampled path and stuck fast, even at an angle of less than 45 degrees.

Even though the spear in Ruanda is used as a missile, only one spear is carried. According to Dr. Kandt (1), however, the Banyabungu in

1. Kandt, R. Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 378.

the south usually carry two spears with wide blades.

Wooden spears are used in Ruanda only

Fig. 100. Spear Holder, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 10070. 23 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 99. Women's Canes from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13779 and III E 13789. 143 and 150 centimeters long.)

6: Czekanowski--95 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

Fig. 116. Quiver for Arrows, Ruanda. (1/8 actual size. III E 13074. 84 1/2 centimeters long.)

Fig. 117. Gourd Quiver, Ruanda. (1/8 actual size. L 17270a. 39 centimeters long.)

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Fig. 118. Woven Bag Quiver from Mulera. (1/8 actual size. III E 13764. 70 centimeters long.)

6: Czekanowski--97 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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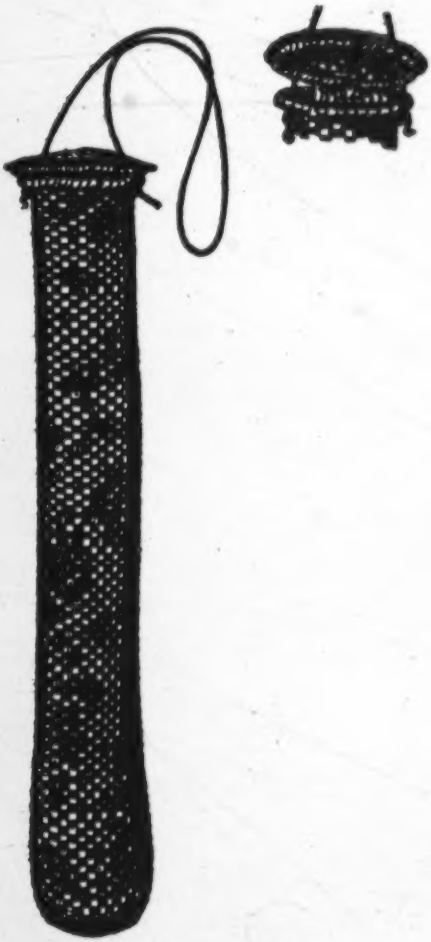

Fig. 119. Woven Cylindrical Quiver from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L17270b. 76 centimeters long.)

Fig. 120. Swords from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E13071 and III E 13072. About 63 centimeters long.)

411 . I was repeatedly told that the sword was a Batutsi weapon, but it is doubtful that the present form of the haft and the scabbard with all their details can be credited to the Batutsi. We must not forget that swords are also used by the Batwa and occur in the countries west of Ruanda, especially in the primeval forest.

[196] The sword plays an important part in religious ceremonies. It is used, for example, at birth festivities.

Clubs are found in Ruanda, but they are not very important. It seems that they are used more by the herdsmen than by the rest of the population. Simple smooth clubs are also said to be badges of distinction. Occasionally I saw a club, the end of which was decorated with four brass nails. The thick end is often faceted.

[197] Shields. Shields are very rare in Ruanda proper and in Kissaka. They consist of a slightly concave oval piece of wood with a protruding portion in the center. Behind the protruding part a braided strap-handle is tied to the shield. The [531] shield is painted black, white, and red. It is carved out of one piece of wood and is 40 to 50 centimeters high, 20 to 30 centimeters wide, and 10 to 20 centimeters deep.

The shield is common in Mulera. Here it has the Ndorwa shape, although it is usually not so wide. These shields are covered in front with rattan and are not painted. Thus they are essentially similar to the Uganda shield.

Of the shields west of Lake Kivu Dr. Kandt (1) says: "...as

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), pp. 442, 443.

in the east (Ruanda), they are oval or rectangular with rounded corners, made of wood which in front is covered with wicker running horizontally or diagonally. [198] It is very popular to put bits of mica between the wicker strands. In the center of the outside is the navel, that is to say, a bulge, which in Ruanda is pointed, in the west usually flat. The Wahunde also had other shields that were carried by the chiefs. They are very tall and [285] wide, rectangular, painted red, bordered with strips of skin, and very skilfully woven of reeds, therefore very elastic. On the

6: Czekanowski--100 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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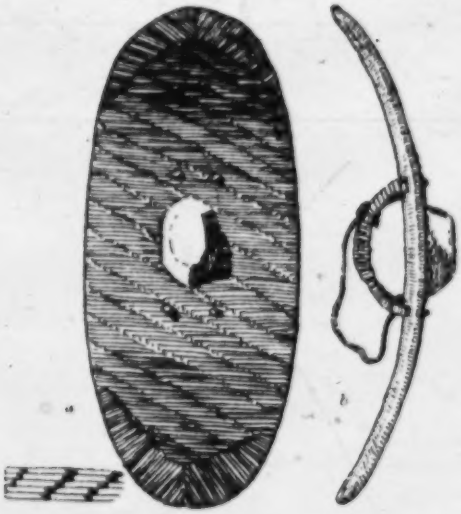

Fig. 124. Mulera Shield: (a) Front; (b) Side. (1/6 actual size. III E8969. 52 centimeters long.)

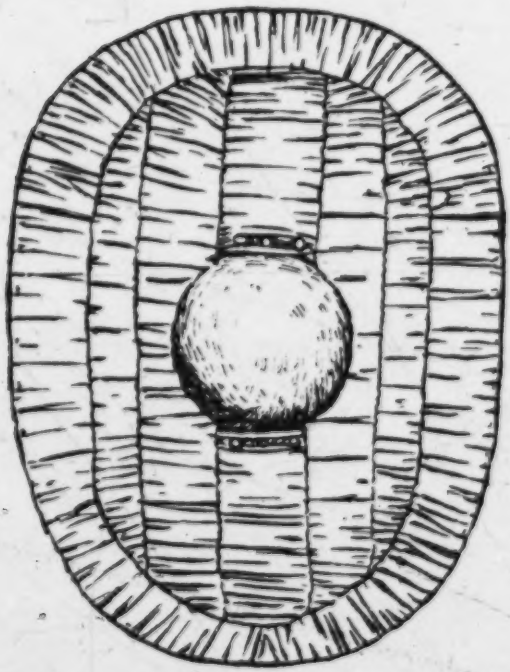

Fig. 125a. Shield from East Mulera, Front View. (1/6 actual size. L15032. 65 centimeters long.)

411 underside is an ornamented oval piece of wood that also serves as the handle."

Near Lake Luhondo on the border of Ndorwa I once saw a very primitive shield. It consisted of a piece of thick tree bark, in the center of which was attached a handle consisting of two bound, crossed twigs.

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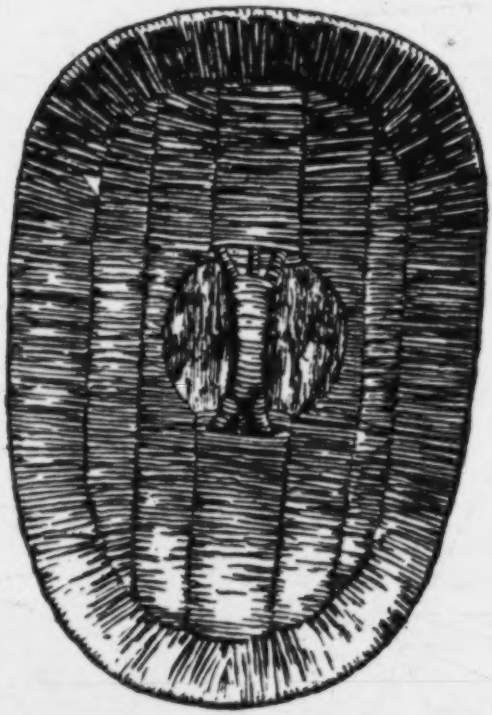

Fig. 125b. Shield from East Mulera, Inner Side.

The shield plays an important part in ritual.

Settlements and the Household

361 Settlements. There is considerable difference in the types of settlements to be found in individual parts of Ruanda. The typical form of settlement is the compound in which the

342 been made, the neighbors are invited. They come and build the hut; the owner is solely concerned with serving the workmen. Some time later the door is built in the same manner.

In most cases the huts last only two or three years and must then be rebuilt.

[768] After the death of the owner, his widow occupies the hut
525 unless she goes to live with the brother of the deceased. How-
787 ever, the hut is abandoned if an ibis or a crowned crane has settled on it. If the bird of ill omen were a crane, it is pursued, and if at all possible, the house is built on the first spot where the bird settles after it has left the roof of the hut. [205] They do not pursue the ibis. In Mulera the Bahutu as well as the Batutsi are afraid of both birds.

343 Let us now turn to a brief discussion of the storehouses (kigega)
251 which are so characteristic of the Ruanda compounds.

In Kiziba where the basic diet consists of the omnipresent banana which cannot be stored, there are no supply houses. The small supplies of beans and millet are wrapped in banana leaves and hung in large bundles on the uprights of the huts. In Kissaka and the rest of Ruanda where the main diet consists of millet flour and peas and where the small supplies of bananas are used chiefly for beer, houses are necessary to store the abundant harvests.

343 The storehouses are large cylindrical baskets. They consist
285 of a layer of sticks running the length of the basket and held
251 together by a number of hoops made of bundles of sticks. This basket is supported from below by a number of wooden forks stuck into the ground, which grasp the outer hoops of the bottom of the basket.

The walls of the basket are sealed with a mixture of clay and cow dung. Under the basket is laid a pile of ashes as a protection against the eternal ravages of termites.

This large basket, two meters high and one to one and a half meters wide, is closed at the top by a straw lid sewed to a conical lattice of sticks. In Kissaka the storehouse has no door, so the roof lid must be removed when supplies are put in or taken out.

251 Millet is usually stored in the form of clipped ears. Once, however, I saw an unusual instance in Kissaka of unthreshed millet

and is covered on top and in front with mats. On this bench stand several simple vessels carved out of wood and covered with not very artistically woven straw lids. Above these vessels, on a beam placed across two uprights, large calabashes used in making butter hang in nets. In Kissaka these hanging nets are not as neatly and carefully made as in Kiziba. Small calabashes are used to close the openings of the butter calabashes.

Fig. 128. Floor Plan of Kissaka Hut: (a) anteroom, (b) hearth, (c) bedroom, (d) back room, (e) milk bench.

The hearth is situated somewhat to the left of center. It is shaped like a round clay slab with two concentric circles, one centimeter high and ten centimeters wide, to prevent fire and ashes from falling out. Well-to-do people who have a separate cookhouse do not keep a fire in the hut during the day. Their hearthstone is always [207] swept clean, and they light a fire only in the evening. Above the fire is a grill, that is, a slab set on four high posts. The bunches of bananas to be used for making beer are placed on this grill to ripen.

Fig. 129. Hanging Net with Basket. (1/6 actual size. III 13100.)

On the other side of the hearth, opposite the milk bench, is the spacious bed. This is surrounded by posts, and here again we find mats or plaited work wedged between them in order to close off the room. There is a separate approach to the bed, which can be closed off with a rollable stick mat, like a blind.

6: Czekanowski--113 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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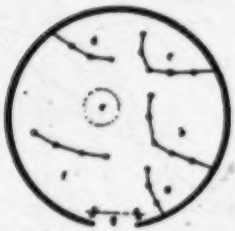

Fig. 130. Floor Plan of a Mulera Hut: (a) stall for calves, (b) bedroom, (c) sacred niche, (d) women's part, (e) hearth, (f) cow stall, (g) entrance.

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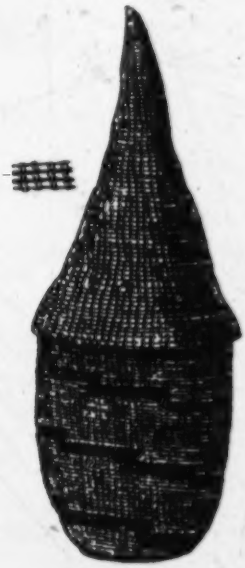

Fig. 131. Lidded Basket from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 6890. 25 centimeters high.)

352 by the Batwa. The Pygmies also do not use beds. If we also remember that the people west of the Kagera make their bowstrings of rattan (bamboo) and use the wooden arrowhead, we may venture to surmise that the absence of the bed in north Ruanda is connected with the Batwa, that is, the Pygmies.

In the interior of the Batutsi huts I occasionally also saw a special room for children and guests. Usually the larger children and the guests sleep in the anteroom (umuriango).

The floor of the huts is covered with mats and not strewn with grass as in Kiziba and Mpororo. On the floor there is usually also a low wooden stool to sit on.

412 Household Utensils. In Ruanda household utensils are very crudely constructed, especially the mortar and pestle. The latter is a simple uncarved stick with a bulbous end. The gourd bottles, 415 too, are not as smooth and regular as those in Kiziba where we find all forms highly developed and perfected.

The most important household utensils are storage baskets, millstones, and various dishes for cooking and eating.

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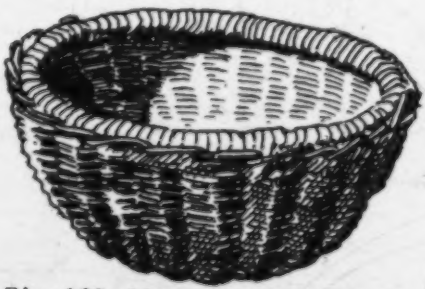

Fig. 132. Woven Basket from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13103. 39 centimeters in diameter.)

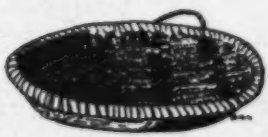

Fig. 133. Shield Basket for Flour from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E10922. 27 x 23 centimeters.)

We have already briefly referred to baskets. We mentioned the conical storage baskets of bamboo (Fig. 54), the smaller straw baskets that are sewn together (ichibo, Fig. 131), the shield baskets for winnowing grain (Fig. 28), and the traveling baskets made of

6: Czekanowski--115 E-5 (1907-1909) 1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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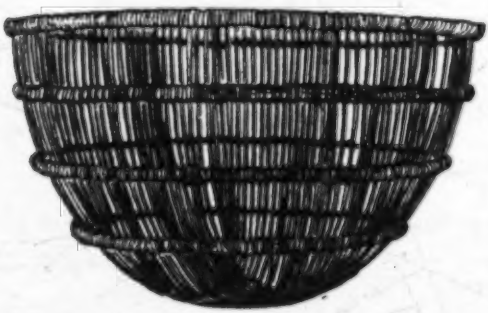

Fig. 134. Stick Basket from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E10032. 48 centimeters in diameter.)

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Fig. 135. Cooking Pot from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L15172.)

Fig. 136. Water Jug from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L15264.)

Fig. 137. Water Jug from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L14755.)

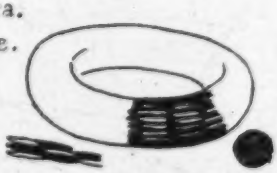

Fig. 138. Supporting Ring from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13726. 23 centimeters in diameter.)

sticks (Figs. 45, 55). The only ones we have not mentioned are the shallow, wide baskets, sometimes made of sticks but usually woven, which are used in the household (Fig. 134).

[209] The millstones of Ruanda have the usual African shape and consist of a flat stone on which another stone is moved back and forth. A woman kneels and holds the second stone in her hand. In this manner the grain that has been dried near the fire is ground between the stones. The flour falls from the stone into a shallow shield basket (Fig. 133).

Clay vessels are used for cooking and to hold water and beer. The cooking pots differ from the others in that they have a larger opening. Like the rest of the clay vessels, the rims of these pots are flared, making them easier to grasp. In cooking they are set on three hearth stones. The water pots are often supported by special woven rings (ingata yo kubereka). If these are not available, a small depression is made in the ground and the vessel is placed in it to prevent it from tipping over. The bottom of the vessel is always round. The beer jugs of larger dimensions often have a braided wrapper that makes the clay vessel less likely to break.

[210] The fire for cooking is produced with a fire drill in Ruanda. In the primeval forest between Kahama and Nyundo I met two Batutsi who were grazing their cows. They were scantily dressed and around their necks, on a string, they carried fire drills. In Mulera I saw a fire drill in the supply basket (isaho) which a herdsman was carrying. In Bgisha almost everyone carries a fire drill in his tobacco pouch, along with his pipe. On the other hand, in the villages of the more densely populated sections of Ruanda, as, for example, in Mulera, this art is scarcely practiced any more, and the people get fire from their neighbors, thereby showing their friendly feeling toward them. Fire is carefully preserved in the ashes, and the fuel is ignited from the small glowing coals that are fanned with a small woven shield (kakoko).

Crudely carved cooking paddles and spoons with long handles are used for stirring, especially in the preparation of the thick millet mush (umutsima).

Food is served in small, carved wooden bowls and in baskets. The baskets are shallow and wide and have carefully worked patterns in black only. In shape and construction they do not differ from the beautifully ornamented Nubian baskets, since they are also made of spirals of straw sewn together.

6: Czekanowski--117 E-5 (1907-1909) 1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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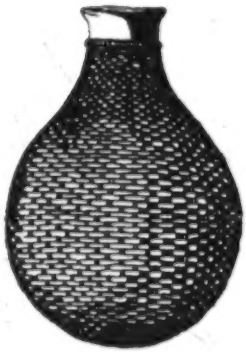

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Fig. 139. Pot With Woven Wrapping from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E5246. 33 1/2 centimeters high.)

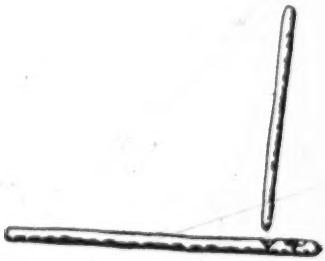

Fig. 140. Fire Drill of the Kivu-Batwa.

Fig. 141. Storage Basket of a Mulera Herdsman. (1/4 actual size. III E13681. 18 centimeters high.)

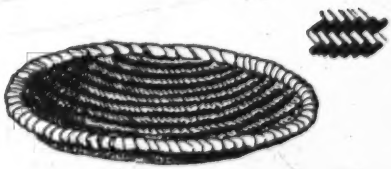

Fig. 142. Fanning Shield from Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E13675. Diameter, 21 centimeters.)

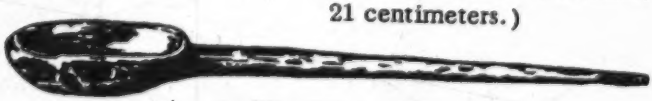

Fig. 143. Cooking Spoon from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L15081. 65 centimeters long.)

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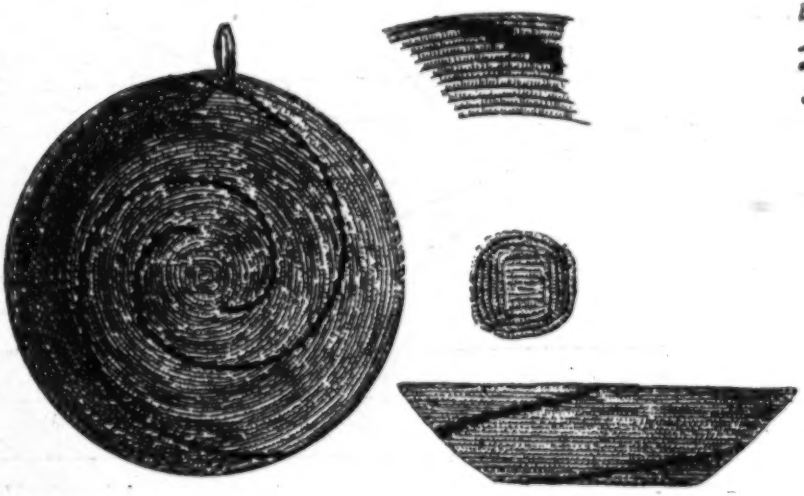

Fig. 144. Basket for Serving Food from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13670. 38 centimeters in diameter.)

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Fig. 145. Wooden Bowl from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L15094.)

Fig. 146. Wooden Bowl from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L1561.)

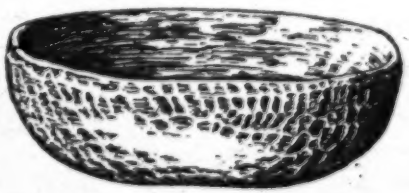

Fig. 147. Wooden Bowl from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L15156.)

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

granted that a woman may fulfil these functions emphasizes the high status that women have enjoyed in Ruanda society. It is tempting to regard their status as a consequence of the economic responsibilities of the polygynous wives when replacing their husbands.

Besides this form of economic collaboration, wives, in nuclear as well as in polygynous families, had to perform certain economic tasks within the rugo. The activities which belonged exclusively to the wife, though she was sometimes helped by her daughters and certain other females were, for women of any caste: cleaning and brushing the hut and the enclosure, milk churning, and basket-making. In addition to these, Tutsi women made particular objects in basket-work (such as screens used in the hut, very finely woven plates, &c.), butter perfumed with the wood of a certain tree *umubavu* (such butter was used as a cosmetic), and garments in bead work. Hutu women had to cook and to apportion food. In agriculture their particular tasks were to sow and plant, to grind sorghum, and to sift peas. Twa women simply cooked.

The husband's contributions to the economic activities of the compound were, among the Tutsi, cattle-rearing and hunting (for the hides and skins); among the Hutu, hut-building, minding cattle (if they had any), felling the bush, and usually all the agricultural tasks requiring considerable physical strength. Moreover, they prepared bark-cloth and skins and forged iron implements. Among the Twa, husbands hunted and made bows and iron weapons.

The principles underlying this division of economic tasks exclusively performed by males or females were according to informants that men should carry out tasks which either were particularly hard, or required intelligence, had to be performed far from the compound, or were thought 'noble'.

Most other duties could be performed by men or women and were shared between husband and wife according to individual arrangements. Such activities were, for instance, in the case of the Tutsi: watching labourers working in the fields, and supervising them, doing menial tasks such as mending the enclosure, milking the cows or looking after the herds. For the Hutu they were: harvesting, brewing beer, drawing water, cutting and collecting wood, lighting and maintaining fires, making mats and baskets, &c. For the Twa: pot-making and brewing beer.